10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

When a death occurs the house will be visited, even on three successive days by the priest and the prescribed service said in the presence of the body. The actual funeral service in Church is penetrated by the sense of the pathos of this life and of hope in the life to come. It contains passages of incomparable beauty, such as the first of the *ideomela* of St. John Damascene:

> "What delight of life continueth unmixed with sorrow? What glory on earth remaineth unalterable? All things are more fleeting than a shadow, all things are more illusive than dreams; one moment, and all these things are succeeded by Death. But in the light of Thy countenance, and in the sweetness of Thy beauty, do Thou, O Christ, in mercy, give rest to *him* whom Thou hast chosen, forasmuch as Thou art the lover of mankind.[1]

And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

[1] See a translation of the Burial Service published by Douglas Pepler, Ditchling, 1922, and with the above quotation *cf.* No. 360 in *The English Hymnal.*

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appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 730.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljanako Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovenské Starožitnosti*, 1, p. 127.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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older tradition. Marking the face with charcoal against the evil eye, disguising the face by certain marks to delude a sickness or a misfortune, the blackening and rending of the face in mourning and so on, fall within the same department. In sickness a healthy sign or amulet mark may be traced upon the skin, e.g. the 'seal of Solomon'. This may be the meaning of certain tracings and pointings with the healing finger or healing medium, without leaving a mark. The ancient Slavs also coated their bodies with fetid plant juices, and with offal; and it may be that similar curative methods originate from ceremonial, involving the expulsion of, or protection from, bad influences.

Amongst the Catholics of Bosnia, tattoo ornaments, which have a vague prophylactic aim, are made in a variety of geometric patterns, sometimes from the back of the hand to the shoulder and covering the chest. Personal ornament may still be found to have a mystical significance; and possibly a study of design would reveal an older direct connection. Naturally, the amulet tends to serve an ornamental end—corals for health, crosses of sacred woods, coins and medals, coloured beads, small charms set in silver, flowers worn in the hair, the mercury bracelets of the Mohammedans of Bosnia, and finally the fine and rich amulet cases of late oriental workmanship. Meanwhile, each part of dress has its symbolical value, making it suitable for this or that occasion, and hence afterwards useful for suggestive magic. The belt of bride or mother has the virtues of fertility. In Eastern Macedonia it is woven to represent the fertile rainbow. But the bride's garments are always propitious, and their touch can cure a number of skin diseases. Certain observances hold amongst women to the effect that such and such embroidery designs should not be worked at certain times and seasons.

Finally, there grew up a body of Balkan-oriental medicine which shows the influence of learned medicine as practised by the *iatroi* and *hekim*, with little variation throughout the territory; which, in turn, provides the latest semi-literary source of South Slav popular medicine; and which gives it

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